

the democratic party. The democratic party simply asked that the laboring man be given the same guarantee that the constitution gives to the meanest criminal in the land, namely, the right of trial by jury when he is accused of committing a crime. And remember that the man accused of violating the statutes of the country, is accused of violating that which was deliberately written upon the statute books by a legislative body, made up of senate and house, and the executive. But the judicial process known as government by injunction, was built upon a judge-made law. The judge took his pen and wrote out an order that had the force of law, and then, having wrote the law, he acted as prosecuting attorney and brought before him the man accused of violating his law, and then acted as judge in his own case. That is what government by injunction was. And all we asked was—and now we have secured it—the right of a laboring man to a trial by jury if he is accused of violating a judge-made law, and the alleged contempt was committed outside of the presence of the court, so that it must be established by evidence. That is all we asked. And yet it took us twenty years to get it. I rejoice that the democratic party has for the first time drawn the line between a human being with a soul and inanimate property.

SHIPPING LAW BENEFITS SHIPPERS

The shipping law was another reform, and that also came in response to a demand. A shipping trust, taking advantage of the exigencies of the war, was practising extortion upon the American shipper. In some cases they were charging seven times as much to carry a bale of cotton across the ocean as before the war. Last March the secretary of commerce announced that at that time they were charging four times as much as two years before to carry the farmers' provisions—five times as much to carry the millers' flour, and nine times as much to carry a bushel of wheat. The President asked congress to authorize the creation of a government-owned and controlled merchant marine that would not only lay out the new trade routes for the benefit of our commerce, but, whenever occasion required, enter into competition with ocean carriers and thus protect the people from extortion.

We also have a child labor law, and I rejoice that the democratic party has put itself at the head of the movement for social justice in this country. This law says to the money-mad employer: "You shall not dwarf the body of a child; you shall not stunt the mind of a child; you shall not coin the blood of a child into illegitimate dividends.

We have also an eight-hour-day law. Was this a new demand? No. As long ago as 1908 it was written in the platform of both the democratic and republican parties; every party in this country has been committed by its platform to an eight hour day, but Candidate Hughes objected to the way it was secured.

When he objected to the plan we proposed, without proposing any plan himself, he reminded me of the merchant who, in turning over to his son the business he had built up, told him how to be popular without cost. He said, among other things, "Subscribe to every church that is proposed to be built, no matter what denomination, that will make you friends—and then fight the location and save yourself from having to pay the subscription."

The eight-hour day is an important thing for the toilers, and I am glad that the wage earners of this country appreciate what the President did for them, and the courage that it required for him to step out and take their side, and fight their battles for them.

Do you know the difference between him and Mr. Hughes in this respect? Mr. Hughes vetoed a two-cent fare law in New York, and threw his influence on the side of the railroads. If he had signed the bill the railroads could have gone into the courts, and if they could have shown the bill to be unjust they could have suspended it. When he vetoed it, therefore, he took the side of those who had another remedy, and did not need him, but in doing so he decided against the patrons of the road WHO HAD NO OTHER LEGAL REMEDY. Mr. Hughes criticised the President, and said he ought not to have favored the eight-hour-day law, which meant that Mr. Hughes would have again taken the side of the railroads that had another remedy. When the President signed that bill he did not hurt the

railroads; he could not hurt them. They hurt the courts, and if they can show that the law is unconstitutional or unjust they can suspend it. Mr. Hughes would have decided on the side of the railroads that had another remedy, and did not need him. But Woodrow Wilson decided on the side of the men who had no other legal remedy and WHO DID NEED HIM!

Our administration has to its credit another reform — the promise of independence to the Filipinos. Some republicans seem to think that the Filipinos are the only people interested. They were mistaken. Our nation was more interested than the Filipinos. It was to them an act of justice; it was to us an act of necessity. For eighteen years we have stood before the world under the suspicion of having trampled upon the Declaration of Independence. There are but two theories of government; there never have been more than two. One is ours, namely, that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." There is only one other, namely, the theory of monarchies and empires, that a government is sixteen inches in diameter, round in shape and fired out of a cannon. It is the theory that governments rest on force; that a government can be thrown, like a net, over helpless people, and those people compelled at the point of the bayonet to obey laws in the making of which they have had no voice. That is the policy of emperors and kings.

For eighteen years the voice of this nation has been silenced in the councils of the world, for we did not dare to proclaim the people as the source of power, while we were committed to a policy that denied the fundamental principles of that doctrine. Now, our nation can stand erect, and if, hereafter, any subject of monarchy tells us that there is no difference between a republic and a monarchy, we can tell him it is false, and point to our government's promise as evidence of a republic's power to resist the temptation to exploit helpless people in the name of humanity.

PEACE TREATY PLAN

And if you will pardon me, I will refer to one other thing that I regard as an important reform—the treaty plan that we have presented to the world. When this administration came into power, the twenty-six arbitration treaties we then had furnished no more machinery for peace than the treaties of the old world. They had two serious defects. One was they only ran for five years, and then died. The presumption was given to war and not to peace. Under those treaties, if one of them expired by limitation at the end of five years, and the President wanted to renew it and a majority of the senate wanted to renew it, yet, because it had to be ratified by two-thirds of the senate, a minority of the senate, one more than a third, could stand in the way of the extension of the treaty, no matter how earnestly the President and a majority of the senate desired to have it extended. That was the best kind of treaty that we had when this administration began, but what was worse, those treaties had four exceptions — questions of honor, independence, vital interests, and the interests of third parties; and when you read the exceptions you wondered out of what war could grow, if not out of the exceptions. Questions of honor! Why, when a man is mad, every question is a question of honor. And vital interests! What is not vital when a man's blood is up? When a man is mad, he swaggers around and talks about what he CAN do, and he generally over-estimates it! When he is calm, he thinks about what he OUGHT to do, and listens to the voice of conscience.

Our thirty treaties, negotiated according to this new plan, cure the defects of which I have spoken. In the first place, instead of running for five years and then dying, they never die. They give the presumption to peace, and not to war; they run on, and on, for twelve months after one side or the other has asked that the treaty be discontinued; and if neither side asks that the treaty be discontinued, the treaty runs on and on, forever. I believe that neither side will ever ask that one of these treaties be discontinued. I have such faith in these treaties that I believe that a thousand years from now the name of Woodrow Wilson and my name will be linked together in these treaties in the capitals of the world, and that these treaties, by furnishing machinery by which peace can be preserved with honor, will, ten centuries hence, be preserving the peace of our nation.

I have briefly reviewed some of the more important reforms that have come within the last four years, and now, my friends, it is worth while to ask why these reforms have come. The study of the past is of little value if it is merely to contribute to our pleasure. It is immensely valuable if we can learn from the past what is to come in the future.

If a surveyor says that the extension of an established line a certain distance in a certain direction will reach a certain point, it is not a prophecy; it is merely a statement of fact. The laws that govern human progress are just as clearly defined; when, therefore, we understand the forces that have been at work, we can tell what is coming hereafter, as well as understand the past.

When a few years ago my wife and I visited South America, we crossed the Andes into Southern Peru. We left the ocean at Mollendo, and followed a mountain road up three thousand five hundred feet. There we came to a level plain, a sort of bench, some eighteen miles in width, and several hundred miles long. When we reached this plain, we saw innumerable dunes of white sand; they differed in size, but were uniform in appearance. Each one was crescent shaped, the points of the crescents towards the mountains beyond. AND THOSE SAND DUNES MOVED WITH THE PRECISION OF AN ARMY TWO HUNDRED FEET A YEAR, FROM THE EDGE OF THIS SHELF TO THE MOUNTAIN. It was a weird and impressive phenomenon. For hours after we crossed that plain I could think of nothing but those sand dunes; and when, that evening, we reached the city of Arequipa, I consulted an encyclopedia to find out the cause. The explanation given was that at that point there is a constant trade-wind blowing from the west; that it carries the fine sand from the shore up the mountain ravines to this plain, and there forms the sand into these dunes, and then moves the dunes across the plain.

And so, my friends, there is a force as constant and unvarying, that forms reformers into groups, and carries forward these reforms. IT IS THE SPIRIT OF DEMOCRACY that is at work in the world. You will find these reforms differing in magnitude and in importance, but all moving in the same direction; and back of them is that constant force. It is that force that has compelled us to act, and when our brief day is past, it is that force that will compel those who come after us to continue the work in the same direction. If we understand the force that has brought about these reforms, we can look forward. It is not prophecy, it is not prediction, it is merely a statement of fact when we say that these same forces, working on the hearts of men like ourselves, will produce certain results.

We are not relieved from our duty by the fact that this generation of democrats has wrought as no former generation has. It simply enables us to take up new questions, and if you will bear with me for a little while longer, I desire to present for your consideration some new questions which, I believe, lie immediately before us. As I talk to you I need hardly remind you that I have no power to coerce or compel. For twenty years I have never had an office that I could give to anybody as a reward for his working with me in any cause or for anything. I have simply been able to appeal to people, and state the reasons that influence my judgment and guide me. I ask your attention while I tell you of the reforms that are, in my judgment, ripe for action.

NATIONAL BULLETIN NEEDED

In the first place there is a very pressing need for a means of reaching the voters and informing them in regard to the questions upon which they are to vote. The value of government by the consent of the governed depends largely upon the information those have whose consent is required. Something has been said about the south and the west. My friends, when I speak without restraint my praise of the south and west is even more earnest and more emphatic than the eloquent eulogy of my friend from California. I love the south and the west, and the ideals to which they are attached; but I would do injustice to the east if I told you that the people of the south and west were at heart different from the people of the other sections of our country. It is not a difference in people, it is a difference in their means of information